

CHAPTER I A New Center of Gravity in the World

Sinkiang, Pivot of Asia

- 101 A NEW CENTER of gravity is forming in the world. In terms of power politics it has two outstanding characteristics: accessibility from Russia, for the kinds of power which are at Russia's disposal, and inaccessibility from America, for the kinds of power that are at America's disposal. In terms of ideology, it is a whirlpool in which meet political currents flowing from China, Russia, India and the Moslem Middle East.

China's Inner Asian province of Sinkiang occupies a major part of the focal area within which lies this new center of gravity. Sinkiang is China's India. Of its people, 90 per cent are not Chinese. They feel themselves to be subjects, rather than citizens, of the Chinese Republic. Like the peoples of India, they are divided among themselves by differences of language and religion, while the increase of nationalism tends in some ways to unite and in other ways to divide them. As in India, Moham-medanism is not only a religion but a political force. And finally, many of these non-Chinese subjects of China have close ties of language and historical association with various peoples in the Soviet Union and the Mongolian People's Republic, and to a lesser extent with Afghanistan.

A circle with a radius of a thousand miles, centering on Urumchi, capital of Sinkiang, encloses more different kinds of frontier than could be found in any area of equal size anywhere else in the world.

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There are linguistic and cultural frontiers between Mongols, Chinese, Tibetans, Indians, Afghans, the peoples who speak one or another of the Inner Asian Turkic languages, and Russians.

There are religious frontiers between Mohammedans, Buddhists, followers of primitive religions, Orthodox Christian Russians intermingled with consciously atheistic Russians, and predominantly unreligious Chinese.

There are political frontiers between independent states, overlord states, satellite or dependent states, and states which have only recently been freed from colonial status, and also between the monarchy of Afghanistan, the principality of Kashmir, and theocratic Tibet.

There are frontiers between the recently industrialized economy of the Soviet Union, the rapidly changing pastoral economy of the Mongolian People's Republic, the traditional nomad economies of the Kazakhs and Mongols of Sinkiang, the ancient agricultural practices of China, partly infiltrated by such new agencies of transformation as the railroad and the factory, the oasis economy of Inner Asia, the Alpine economy of the Kirghiz of the Tien Shan, and the high plateau economy of such peoples as the Sarikolis of the Pamirs.

In all this welter of frontiers, however, there is not one state which provides a strong foothold for free capitalist enterprise organized politically around the kind of democratic institutions familiar in Western Europe or North America. In Sinkiang and also in India, Pakistan, Afghanistan, Mongolia, and China, the countries around Sinkiang, there is not a single political movement engaged in the defense of an old, established democracy, for in these regions no such democracy has ever existed. Nor is the aspiration toward democracy, anywhere in Asia, aimed at forms or institutions which are willingly recognized in America as democratic. In the midst of these problems of change and transition Sinkiang holds a pivotal position. If these problems are to be understood they must be studied in the full context of their historical development.

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province. The next largest group, the Kazakhs, are the preponderant nationality in northwestern Sinkiang, in the area bordering the Kazakh S.S.R. of the Soviet Union, and are also found along the Mongolian frontier. Kirghiz comprise the highest proportion of the population of the upland areas bordering on the Kirghiz S.S.R., and are also found in the Pamirs. The Mongols are the major nationality in northeastern Sinkiang, in the area bordering the Mongolian People's Republic, and are also found in the Tien Shan, in the heart of the province. The Iranians, who are sometimes called Tajiks or Sarikolis, though small in number relative to the other peoples of Sinkiang, form the major section of the population of the Tashkurgan Valley, adjacent to the Tajik S.S.R.

Thus Uighurs, Kazakhs, Kirghiz, Mongols, and Iranians are each distinguished by the fact, clearly revealed in the accompanying sketch map, that they form the local majority in some clearly defined part of the province, in addition to being in a minority in other parts of the province. In contrast, none of the remaining peoples is the major nationality in any area of significant extent. At best they exist as isolated local majorities in villages or towns, as in the case of the Chinese, who form two thirds of the population of the capital city of Urumchi. Since the Chinese, Russians, Manchus, Uzbeks, and Tatars are all people lacking a territorial base, the only viable nationalities in Sinkiang in terms of national consciousness combined with a territorial base for existence as a nationality are the Uighurs, Kazakhs, Kirghiz, Mongols, and Iranians.

Nationalities and Their Characteristics

1. THE UIGHURS, THE MAJORITY PEOPLE OF SINKIANG

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The use of the name Uighur has been revived in Sinkiang only in recent years. Historically it first appears in the records of the Tang Dynasty (618-907 A.D.) as the name of a tribal confederation of pastoral nomads living along the Selenga River, in what is now the northern part of the Mongolian People's Republic.

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From 745 to 840, warriors of this confederation penetrated into Inner Asia north and south of the Tien Shan. In 840 the Uighur power in Mongolia was destroyed by Kirghiz from the Lake Baikal-Yenisei area. Some of the Uighur warrior class succeeded in withdrawing southwest, where they took over the oases north of the Tien Shan, infiltrated in large numbers into the oases south of the mountains, and made themselves the rulers of a settled population. From Chinese transcriptions of the name Uighur, like *Hui-hu* and *Wei-wu-erh*, there was eventually formed the name "Hui" or "Hui-hui," the popular Chinese term for all Moslems.

The people or peoples among whom the Uighurs were absorbed but to whom they gave their name had for half a millennium or so enjoyed several flourishing civilizations. From the oases of easternmost Sinkiang have been recovered documents dating from the first century A.D., written in the Sogdian script. The language of these documents has been identified as belonging to the Indo-Iranian group; the main centers of the Soghdians were Samarkand and Bokhara, but their language was widely used in Inner Asia, especially by traders. The Khotan oasis has given up documents in the Tokharian language and also in the Saka language, also belonging to the Indo-Iranian group, which date from 200-400 A.D. and are written in the Kharoshthi script, which came from India. The Saka civilization was related to the Kushan culture in northwestern India, and like it showed marked Hellenistic influences. In the same period there flourished in the Kucha and Turfan oases a civilization which also used the Tokharian language. What is most interesting about this language is that it belongs, like the Indo-Iranian languages just mentioned, to the larger Indo-European family, but unlike them has more affinity with languages of the "Kentum group" spoken in western Europe than with those farther east.

Besides speaking Indo-European languages the pre-Uighur peoples were distinguished by their devotion to Buddhism and Greco-Buddhist art, and to Manichaeism. The most important literary and artistic treasures from the Tarim Basin are connected with these religions.

Uighur
Kazakh

*563 churchgoers and have a low opinion of the clergy. A common saying is, "Do what the mullah says, not what he does."

565 The intimate ties between the upper lay and ecclesiastical
793 strata enhance the importance of religion. Such literary works as are possessed by the Uighurs are mainly of a religious or didactic character and both historical and contemporary Uighur literature stresses the role played by the church in the struggle of the Uighurs against oppression by the Chinese and earlier rulers.

2. OTHER NATIONALITIES WITH A TERRITORIAL BASE

*563 *Kazakhs.* The Sinkiang Kazakhs, who officially number 318,716
●101 people, share a common history with the Kazakhs of the Kazakh Soviet Socialist Republic in the U.S.S.R.

*563 As a separate nation they appear comparatively late in history.
175 They were originally a part of the Ulus or heritage of Chagatai, one of the sons of Jenghis Khan, and then became part of the Uzbek Khanate, one of the successor states of the Ulus or appanage of Juchi, eldest son of Jenghis, called by the Russians the Golden Horde. The Uzbek Khanate suffered from constant friction among tribal Sultans and Princes. In the middle of the fifteenth century two Sultans of the Barak clan, which was the most powerful opponent of Abul-Khair, the ruling Khan, left the Uzbek confederation and migrated to the neighboring Khanate of Mogulistan, taking their tribal subjects with them. The Mogul Khan — who controlled the territory from east of Tashkent to Jungaria — hoping to find in them allies against his rivals the Uzbeks, ceded to them a stretch of grazing lands from north of the River Chu to west of the River Sary-su. The transformation of this small splinter group into a national and political unit was not accomplished until the end of the fifteenth century, when the Uzbeks conquered the southern oasis regions of Inner Asia and, through close contact with the sedentary oasis population, ceased to be pastoral nomads. At that time, several tribes separated from the Uzbek Khanate and remained in the northern steppes, joining the Kazakhs, whose border was thus moved far westward into what is today called the Kazakh steppe. The diverse tribal origin of the

Kazak
Kirghiz

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*563 cent of the Kazakhs were still illiterate. Rapid change in this re-
 197 spect accompanied the process of collectivization, and by 1939,
 212 76.3 per cent were literate.

The majority of the Kazakhs were not converted to Moham-
 *563 medianism until the seventeenth century. Even then they re-
 771 mained lax in observing many of the rules of Islam. They neither
 562 veil nor seclude their women, because the conditions of nomadic
 life require active kinds of work which would be hampered by
 the veil. Men and women mingle in many kinds of work around
 the camp. They are also lax about the details of the Moslem
 dietary laws, except for the prohibition against pork; they do not
 adhere strictly to the hours of prayer or the seasons of fasting, and
 frequently neglect to circumcise their sons.

*563 Kirghiz. There has been considerable confusion in the use of
 101 the term Kirghiz. The Russians, to avoid confusion with the Rus-
 sian Cossacks, formerly called both the Kirghiz and the Kazakhs
 "Kirghiz," adding the term *Kara* (black) to the real Kirghiz, and
 calling the Kazakhs "Kirghiz *Kaisak*." These distinctions were
 made, however, only when absolutely necessary. In everyday use,
 both people were called "Kirghiz." It was only with the establish-
 ment of national autonomy for both peoples under Soviet rule
 that a clear distinction was made between the Kirghiz and the
 Kazakhs.

Like the Kazakhs, the Kirghiz are divided today by the frontier
 between China and the U.S.S.R. Up to the time of the Soviet
 Revolution the historical development of the Kirghiz on both
 sides of the frontier was essentially the same. It was only with the
 establishment of the Kirghiz Soviet Republic, which encompasses
 the vast majority of the Kirghiz, that the development of the
 Kirghiz people on either side of the frontier began to take on
 radically different forms. While the Soviet Kirghiz have been
 partly settled, organized into collectives, and enjoy a high degree
 of cultural and political autonomy, the Sinkiang Kirghiz are con-
 tinuing in the traditional ways.

000 The original home of the Kirghiz was on the upper Yenisei

Kirghiz
Mongol

*563 Kirghiz is a Turkic language, more closely related to Chaghatay
197 Turkish and Uighur than to Kazakh. The same language is spoken
212 by the Kirghiz on the Soviet side of the frontier. Like the Kazakhs,
the Kirghiz in Sinkiang are almost completely illiterate, and the
only written form for the language is the Arabic alphabet; while
in Soviet Kirghizia, illiteracy has decreased sharply with the in-
troduction of the new Kirghiz alphabet, originally based on the
Latin script but now using an adapted Cyrillic script.

Like the Kazakhs, the Kirghiz are nominal Mohammedans but
with strong shamanistic holdovers. Radlov, a century ago, main-
tained that they considered themselves to be exemplary Moslems
and were less tolerant of non-Moslems than the Kazakhs. This
is evidenced in their folk literature in which the struggle against
nonbelievers plays an important role.

*563 Mongols. The Mongols of Sinkiang, numbering some 63,000
•101 people, are badly split up and unevenly distributed in widely
361 separated sections of the province. The largest concentrations are
in the Chuguchak and Ili administrative regions, in each of which
they number almost 25,000. Another group totaling about 13,000
is found in the highlands of the Kharashahr region. There are a
few along the northeastern section of the frontier between Sin-
kiang and the Mongolian People's Republic, and other scattered
fragments in the northern part of the province.

*563 The area most clearly dominated by the Mongols is along the
131 western end of the frontier with the Mongolian People's Repub-
361 lic. Yet the Mongols in this region constitute only a small fraction
of the total number in the province, while the areas in which they
are most heavily concentrated, such as Chuguchak and Ili, are
in turn dominated by Kazakhs.

*563 The geographic fragmentation of the Mongols is explained
361 largely by their historical vicissitudes. They are divided into three
174 major tribal groups: (1) the Western Mongols, who include the
Ölôts, the Torguts, and the Khoshots; (2) the Chahar Mongols,
and (3) the Urianghai Mongols; but the political units do not
*563 correspond with these tribal divisions. The Mongols are adminis-
631 tratively organized into three leagues and two special groups.

Mongol
Tadjik*The Peoples of Sinkiang*

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of the Princes over their subjects, but at the same time have steadily increased Chinese control over the Princes themselves. The result of this policy has been to make all progressive Mongols antifeudal as well as anti-Chinese. 563* 631

Chinese policy has also been to encourage friction between the Mongols and other peoples. Under the long regime of Governor Yang Tseng-hsin from 1912 to 1928 the Kazakhs were provided with arms and were permitted to drive a wedge of expansion into the Altai area in order to separate the Mongols of Sinkiang from their too revolutionary brethren over the border in the Mongolian People's Republic. On the other hand, the Torguts of Kharashahr, geographically separate from other Mongols and close to a region of Kazakh strength, were allowed to develop a well-equipped cavalry force trained by Russian Cossacks who had left Siberia after the Soviet Revolution. 563* 186

Only recently, with the increase both of nationalism and of the revolutionary trend of nationalism in Sinkiang, have some Mongols and some Kazakhs begun to make common cause. There are sections of both Mongol and Kazakh support for the Kulja coalition and the Kulja program. More revolutionary elements among the Sinkiang Mongols may be expected to look with even greater interest toward the Mongolian People's Republic. No outstanding individuals, however, have been reported among the Mongol nationalists of Sinkiang.

Iranians (Sarikolis, Tajiks). In the extreme southwest corner of Sinkiang is a group of people who speak an Iranian tongue. They are concentrated in the Sarikol or Tashkurgan Valley, where they form the majority of the population, and appear in smaller numbers in neighboring areas. All told they number only 8800. They are usually referred to as Sarikolis, but were classified by Governor Sheng Shih-ts'ai in his list of the peoples of Sinkiang as Tajiks. Recent Russian writers also called them Tajiks, but it is not clear whether they are following the Chinese classification or whether the Chinese adopted a Russian classification. 563* 101 161

The Sarikol Valley lies close to the point where the Chinese, 000

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lem faith, have also settled down in Sinkiang. Many were first placed in Sinkiang by the Manchu Emperor Ch'ien-lung after he had crushed the Jungar Mongols in the eighteenth century. Later other groups of Chinese Moslems sought refuge in the area as the aftermath of Moslem uprisings in the northwestern part of China proper. These are the Dungans (in Chinese transcription, Tung-kan). Most of them were from Kansu Province, some from Ninghsia, others from Shensi.

So important is the religious factor in distinguishing between Moslem and non-Moslem Chinese that often they are considered as two distinct peoples. In Sheng Shih-ts'ai's classification the main body of Chinese are designated as "Han" and the Moslem Chinese as "Hui." The former number some 202,000, and the latter 92,000. The term "Hui" is short for "Hui-hui"; and, although it derives from a medieval transcription of the name of the Uighurs, it is applied to all Moslems. The term "Dungan," for the Chinese Moslems — used invariably by the Russians in Tsarist times, and also in the Soviet literature dealing with the small colonies of Moslem Chinese in the Kazakh and Kirghiz Soviet Socialist Republics — is of Turkic origin. Its meaning is obscure, but it may mean "the returners." This etymology is supported by the folk tradition that the Chinese Moslems are the descendants of mercenary troops who entered China from Inner Asia and later settled down and took Chinese wives. Thus when they were moved westward again, into Sinkiang, in the eighteenth century, they were said to be "returning" toward their ancient homes.

Like the main body of Chinese, those of Moslem faith are to be found in many cities of Sinkiang but chiefly in those in the northern part of the province. They are also important in the caravan trade, in the running of inns and caravanserais, and in the military forces. Some have also taken to the land.

Enjoying a virtual monopoly of the provincial administration, the non-Moslem Chinese have upheld the bureaucratic tradition of scholarship and learning. Apart from the official class, however, the Chinese in Sinkiang appear to be no less illiterate than those in the rest of China. Illiteracy is especially high among the

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In this situation, an important aspect of the mentality of the ruling bureaucracy was the habit, among English-speaking officials, of referring to the non-Chinese peoples of the province in true sahib style as "the natives." That political careerists regarded Sinkiang as a juicy melon to be sliced was further indicated by a comment made by a former high official in the provincial administration:

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One might say that China is like a bankrupt family, which is so embarrassed financially that it can hardly continue to exist, but whose ancestors, fortunately, have left it an estate in the west. If need be, there is still this vast country to fall back on.²³

In this period the dominant trend of Chinese policy was to disregard the possibilities of securing the adherence of Sinkiang to China by the consent of the peoples of Sinkiang, and to rely instead on a show of force which was formidable for the day but not backed up by the probability of reinforcements for the morrow.

Russians. The 13,400 Russians living in Sinkiang derive almost entirely from *émigrés* who fled from the Bolshevik Revolution of 1917 — most of them during the years 1919–1921 — or from families that were already in Sinkiang when the Russian Revolution broke out. This was a period of intense civil strife in the Semirechie region, now part of the Kazakh S.S.R., where Cossack bands led by Annenkov, Dutov, and Bakich held positions along the frontier until the collapse of Admiral Kolchak forced first one group and then another to cross into Sinkiang. Here they were disarmed and given the choice of remaining in the province or proceeding farther east.

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Most of the Russians live in a few urban centers like Kulja, Chuguchak, and Urumchi. As the group with the highest average

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²³ Aitchén K. Wu, "Will China Lose Its Far West?" *Asia*, XXXIX (1939), p. 675.

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citizens of China or of the Soviet Union. An important subsidiary problem is the fact that when a Russian living abroad is granted a Soviet passport he is not automatically free to return to the Soviet Union at his own discretion. In the past, the Soviet authorities in China have at times given Soviet passports and protection to Russian exiles, without granting them permission to return to the Soviet Union. Turkic nationalists like Masud Sabri consider that the Russians have Soviet citizenship and hence cannot be counted among the nationalities in Sinkiang. In this attitude there is a suggestion that Soviet citizenship is incompatible with Sinkiang residence. Yet it is probable that many Russians would like to have both. Given an administration which can make use of their abilities, the Russians, because of their technical qualifications, could make important contributions to the progress of the area. This is the best they can hope for in an area where they can never represent more than a minute fraction of the population.

Manchus. The Manchus of Sinkiang include the Solons and the Sibos, who are not, tribally speaking, true Manchus. All three belong to the Manchu tribal coalition, which conquered all of China and all but disappeared from sight when their rule was terminated in 1911. Only in Sinkiang have the Manchus been able to preserve the characteristics which set them off from other peoples. Manchus, Solons, and Sibos are listed together as numbering 12,362 people.

The first significant numbers of Manchus came to Sinkiang in the second half of the eighteenth century in the course of the campaigns against the Jungar Mongols. Following their victory the Manchus attempted to consolidate their holdings by placing administrators and troops in key positions. A city was built in the strategic Ili Valley as the center from which to administer the region as a whole and to command the Manchu garrisons stationed throughout the province. In contrast to most garrisons, which consisted of a few isolated troops, stationed in important urban centers and forbidden by Manchu dynastic law to engage

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* 563 in either agriculture or trade, those in the Ili area were established as military colonists. One garrison consisted of Solons from 167 the upper course of the Nonni River in Northwestern Manchuria, 174 famed for their skill in archery. The Solons were regarded by the Manchus as a valuable auxiliary tribe, but their original language, as still spoken in Manchuria, is different from Manchu, though related to it. Another garrison consisted of Sibos, from Central Manchuria, who were often employed in the province as scribes and clerks. The Sibos are also not regarded as "true" Manchus. They appear to be of captive or semislave origin, and were perhaps a tribe akin to the Manchus who resisted Manchu unification at the beginning of the seventeenth century. They had a reputation for not succumbing to Chinese influence and for retaining command of their own language and customs. Both groups were given rich lands in the Ili Valley, the Solons on the right bank of the river and the Sibos on the left bank.

* 563 During the 1911 Revolution most of the city Manchus in Sinkiang were massacred, but the village communities defended 174 themselves and survived. At present the Solons number 2500 and 161 the Sibos 9200 out of the total number of "Manchus" in the province. 361 With the exception of some 1700 in the Chuguchak region, 101 virtually all of those classed as Manchus are in the Ili Valley. Here they continue to predominate in a few villages on either side of the river in territory that is predominately Kazakh or Uighur.

* 563 For the most part, the Manchus live by agriculture — though 241 this is supplemented also by sheep raising and hunting. To a considerable extent they have succeeded in maintaining their traditional way of life, even to the point of preserving their military 231 ability. Nevertheless they are also in the forefront of current developments in the province. Many speak other languages beside 191 their own, including Russian. At one time there was even talk among them of replacing their Manchu writing with a script based on the Latin alphabet. The Sibos in particular have been highly praised for distinguishing themselves in carrying out tasks assigned them by the Kulja regime, such as delivering grain and clover.

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assigned them by the Kulja regime, such as delivering grain and 000 clover.

Despite the fact that Sheng Shih-ts'ai split these people into 563* three distinct groups — Manchu, Solon, and Sibo — they display 197 so little difference that these divisions may be considered of minor importance. The original differences in speech appear to have been lessened by the use of Manchu as an official language in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, and the three forms as now spoken in Sinkiang are mutually comprehensible. The literary language of all three is Manchu. In other respects too the points of similarity are such that the three groups must be considered as essentially one people.

Despite their small numbers, the military ability, tradition of 563* service in administration, and generally forward-looking attitude 181 of the Manchus make them a force to be reckoned with in the province. They appear to have adopted a position in support of the Kulja program against the former Chinese administration. To be sure, their long-term existence as a people is in doubt. Yet their immediate future must involve a measure of local self-government if they are not to constitute a thorn in the flesh of the surrounding majorities.

Uzbeks. The Uzbeks in Sinkiang are scattered outposts of the 563* main population group in the Uzbek Soviet Socialist Republic. 101 All told there are only 8000 of them in the province. They reside 161 for the most part in the cities — as merchants, traders, and anti-Soviet refugees — more than three quarters of them being located in Kashgar, Kulja, and Chuguchak.

The Uzbek nation as a whole is now composed of two main 563* ethnic layers: the old Iranian groups which inhabited the south- 197 ern Inner Asian oasis region, and the Turkish tribes of the so-called "Uzbek confederation" which in the sixteenth century con- 174 quered this region. Under the influence of the culture of the Iranian agricultural oasis dwellers, the Uzbeks soon abandoned their nomadic economy and went over to a settled, agricultural

*563 economy. They absorbed many elements of the higher Iranian
197 culture which they had conquered, to such a degree that for a
174 time Persian was the only language in which literature was writ-
ten and in which the courts functioned; though the Turkic Uzbek
language prevailed over Iranian as the language of the common
people.

*563 In the nineteenth century, most of the territory of the Uzbeks
648 was conquered by the Russians. Several Khanates remained nom-
101 inally independent, but were actually in a vassal relationship to
Russia. After the Soviet Revolution the Uzbeks first formed part
of the Turkistan Soviet Republic, and later were reorganized in
the Uzbek Soviet Socialist Republic, a constituent Union Repub-
lic of the Soviet Union. The Uzbeks comprise the majority of the
population in their own Republic. They live also in scattered
groups in the Tajik, Kazakh, and Kirghiz Soviet Socialist Repub-
lics, and in northern Afghanistan as well as in Sinkiang.

[197] Uzbek is a Turkic language, but it has become strongly Iran-
icized in the cities. Actually there are two Uzbek languages: the
Iranicized city Uzbek, and the more purely Turkic country Uzbek.

[779] While the Uzbeks are Sunni Mohammedans, the mystical
teachings of the Sufis were of considerable importance in their
religious development.

*563 *Tatars*. The Tatars in Sinkiang number less than 5000 people.
161 More than four fifths are concentrated in the two cities of Kulja
361 and Chuguchak. Some are descendents of Tatar traders who set-
101 tled in Sinkiang in the days of the Tsar. Others derive from anti-
871 Soviet refugees who entered the province after 1917. Despite
their small numbers they exercise considerable influence, as the
group with the highest average of education among the Turkish-
speaking peoples.

*563 Most Tatars come from the Volga region which today com-
174 prises the Tatar Autonomous Soviet Socialist Republic. They are
the descendants of the inhabitants of the Kazan Khanate which
was formed in 1438 on the territory of the former Volga Bul-
garian Empire as a result of the collapse of the Golden Horde.

Today at last Han Chinese appear destined to settle on the land in Sinkiang. If successful this should be a substantial gain to the province and should give their colonization more permanence than that of previous days. Yet, the question of what land is being allotted to these Han Chinese will merit most careful handling. For allocation of native soil to "outlanders" has long been a touchy subject in Sinkiang. 167

The Tung-kan: Chinese Moslems

Among the Han Chinese of Sinkiang there are a large number who adhere to the Mohammedan faith and yet are distinct from the other Moslems of the province. These *Han Hui* ("Han Moslems") are also known as *Tung-kan Hui* or often just as *Tung-kan* (Dungan). The name, Tung-kan, has been explained in many ways. Chiang Chün-chang says it is of Russian origin and means "Mohammedan Offenders of the East" or "Offenders of the East." Another variation, *Kan Hui*, according to Chiang, means "Mohammedans of Kansu" and indicates that many of the Tung-kan hail from there. Probably the Tung-kan are offspring of Central Asians who wandered into Kansu and married Chinese women. Owen Lattimore concludes that, in a kind of reverse migration, they were sent back into Chinese Turkestan during Manchu Dynasty times in order to offset Mongol influence. They are quite distinct from the "head-binding," or turbaned, Wei-wu-erh; the two groups have often opposed each other violently, and before China's resistance to Japan it was said that they had in common only their religion. 101 563

One finds the Tung-kan not only in Sinkiang but throughout the Chinese Northwest, particularly in Shensi, Kansu, Ningsia, and Ch'ing-hai. As a racial group they are said to be of greater virility than the regular Han Chinese; they are of a fine, sturdy stock and are particularly noted for their soldiery. They are also devoted Moslems. The most usual surname among them is Ma, the Chinese character for horse, which may represent a Chinese attempt at transliterating the sound "Mohammed." The saying that *Wu Ma*, "Five Ma," rule the Chinese Northwest, shows how strong the power of the Tung-kan has been in modern China.

764 Kirgiz, who, for example, have occasionally been found to worship fire, is said to be a vestige of Shamanism.

563 The Kirgiz are split up into many small mountain dwelling groups and often are not able to keep in touch with others of their race. In recent years, however, some have become educated to a more modern, more urbanized life.

Kazakhs

492 Chinese, it may be said, do not usually make distinctions between the Kirgiz and another people of Sinkiang, the Kazakhs. The latter are also Moslems and are widely distributed between the T'ien Shan and the Altai. They speak Turki, are notorious as raiders, and are famous for their wild horsemanship. Tu Chung-yün says that Kazakh children of five or six are already well trained to ride horseback. "There are none," he says, "at the age of ten who do not have unusual talent such as enables them to tell the sickness of a horse, to control the animal, to stand on its back, to bend from the horse to pick up things, to straighten up quickly, and above all to ride as though glued on the animal. Such feats as these are performed by Kazakh soldiers in Soviet motion pictures."

579 Tu reminds his readers that Sino-Russian boundary demarcations have put one branch of the Kazakhs under Russian and the other under Chinese political authority. This has made it difficult to draw a rigid racial line on the frontier, and Kazakhs riding across the steppes to raid an innocent herder at times have created border incidents. As Tu states, "The Kazakh people are very strong but also very lazy, and outside of tending cattle, often do not have any occupation. So some, when winter comes, take to the life of a lancer. A few steal cattle and horses, and many kill men and take their goods. For this is only an outgrowth of their military talent, and they lack another way in which to use it. Wouldn't one think that, if these excellent warriors were persuaded to attack the enemy in this time of Resistance, each would do the work of a hundred?"

101 As in many another Chinese racial problem, however, there is a mixup concerning information about the Kazakhs. Russians, who have a separate group named similarly (the famous Kazakhs, or Cossacks

of the Russian cavalry), have called one type of this Turkestan nomad the Kara-Kazakh and another the Kirgiz-Kazakh. C. P. Skrine, a British authority, even describes the Kara-Kazakh as a branch of the Kirgiz. Yet Owen Lattimore emphatically states that the Kirgiz and Kazakh are not the same, that the Kara-Kazakh is actually purely and simply Kazakh and calls himself that, while the Kirgiz-Kazakh is purely and simply Kirgiz and looks down upon the Kazakh as inferior. The Kirei, an outstanding people of former Turkestan history whom Douglas Carruthers has identified as Kirgiz but who, Mr. Lattimore indicates, are Kazakh, are said to have been probably the "purest Turks of all . . ."

Some Other Peoples of Sinkiang

There are still other ethnic groups in Sinkiang, including a large section of White Russian refugees who fled from their native land in the early years of the Soviet Republic, a considerable number of Soviet Russians, and other foreigners. The Tajiks or Sariquolis, found in a "few secluded mountain regions" of the Pamirs and especially in the Sariquol area, are said to be a nearly pure specimen of the so-called *homo alpinus* and do not speak Turki. Other types include two groups of South Sinkiang known as the Habdals and Dulanis, a colony of Turki stock known as Taranchis who are settled in the I-li Valley, and the Uzbeks who appear to be mostly migrants from adjacent Uzbekistan.

The "Fourteen" Races of Sinkiang

The authorities of the New Sinkiang in recent years have tried to popularize the idea that there are "fourteen racial types" among all these people of the province. These the Chinese name as *Han, Man, Meng, Hui, Wei-wu-erh, Ha-sa-k'o, T'a-chi-k'o, T'a-lan-ch'i, T'a-t'a-erh, Ko-erh-k'o-tzu, Wu-tzu-pieh-k'o, Hsi-po, So-lun, and Kuei-hua*. The inclusion of such a primarily political and geographical term as *Han* and religious category as *Hui* (both already briefly discussed) would tend to eliminate this as any "scientifically" worked out ethnic list. The same comment applies to the *T'a-t'a-erh* (Tatar), the *Ko-erh-k'o*

- 101 *tsu*, or Khalkha (both related to the Mongols), the *Hsi-po* (Sibo) and
 563 *So-lun* (Solon). The other types mentioned might be identified in their order as Manchu, Mongol, Uighur, Kazakh, Tajik, Taranchi, Uzbek, and White Russians. It is worth while to notice, however, that in the list of the fourteen racial types the name Tung-kan is not mentioned except as it is "swallowed" up in the general categories of Han or Hui. This may be (though it probably is not) due to the equating of the name Tung-kan with the name Hui or (more likely since Wei-wu-erh also are identified as among the category of Hui) to a looseness of racial classification. Yet might not the omission actually be a way of evading mention of a pressing problem and an actual negative indication that all is not yet completely well so far as Sheng and those particular Chinese Moslems are concerned?

Though there has been a certain looseness of expression throughout the fourteen-fold list, so far as Chinese usage is concerned no real error has been made. *Min-tsu*, the Chinese term translated here as "race," literally means a "clan of people," "a tribe," even "a nation." As "clans" or ethnic types the fourteen groups mentioned here certainly deserve to be distinguished, though they may not all represent "races." In fact the naming of them is especially valuable as indicative of the kinds of "people" that are locally prominent now among the Sinkiang "peoples" themselves.

Policy: Old and New

- 563 It was the resentment of most of the people in this tremendous racial mixture over the former treatment accorded them, which confronted the administrative authorities of the New Sinkiang almost from the first. "Formerly," Tu Chung-yüan writes, "the people were permitted to read only Han books . . . and even if they read those they were not permitted to hold office, but could serve only as half-slave translators. As a result, none of the races wanted to do such work. In the Yang-Chin period force was used to make some do it. But . . . just as soldiers had to be hired in the interior, so only poor persons could be hired to do the reading."

Since Sheng Tu-pan began to stress "Racial Equality," Tu says, change in the traditional policy has come:

CHAPTER IV

THE MOUNTAIN ROAD TO CATHAY

THE name Tashqurghan means in Turki "stone fort", 101 • and the place is probably identical with the *λίθινος πύργος* of which Ptolemy speaks as having been the extreme western emporium of Serikē (China). At that time it was called by the Chinese Hopanto and was the capital of the frontier district of that name.¹ Now once more it is the headquarters of the Chinese Amban of Pu-li or Sariqol, who rules a long strip of country along the eastern rim of the Pamir plateau. Sariqol was made into an administrative district at the beginning of the present century, when it came into prominence from the Chinese point of view owing to the occupation of the neighbouring Pamirs by Russia. For years, indeed, the Tsar's Government kept a detachment of infantry at Tashqurghan, regardless of the fact that it was Chinese territory; the solid mud-brick fort built by them is still in good repair though it has been empty since its evacuation in 1920 by the last remnants of the former Cossack garrison of the Pamirs. Ethnically, the district is interesting as being populated in about equal proportions by two contrasting races. These are, firstly, the Tajiks, who are remarkably pure specimens of the original *Homo alpinus* stock and have inhabited this remote corner of High Asia since the dawn of history; secondly, the Kirghiz. These latter belong to the tribe called by the Russians Kara-Kazak; they are the southernmost branch of the great Kirghiz race, and they can only live as far south as the Pamirs, the immense elevation of which makes up for the low latitude and produces a climate as rigorous as that of the Steppes. [631] [648] [712] 162

Two entirely different routes, each about ten marches in length, connect Tashqurghan with Kashgar. The one usually followed in summer is the eastern or Chichiklik route which, 487

¹ Stein, "Sand-buried Ruins of Khotan," pp. 71-2.

II. The Turkic People of the Northwest

A. The New Uighurs (or Eastern Turks)

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101 The Turks of Sinkiang call themselves after the cities where they live, e.g. Kashgarlik, Turfanlik, Kuchalik, etc.... After [668] the Communist Revolution the Communists introduced the term Uighurs for the Eastern Turks, living in the Ili District. The term later was adopted by the Chinese.

1. Physical characteristics

563
144 In one sense the Eastern Turks are the descendants of the old [167] Uighurs who migrated to present day Sinkiang during the ninth century A.D., Later they had mixed with Indo-european tribes and [175] other Turkish tribes of the Chagatai Ulus (empire) and to a small degree also with the Mongols. Thus, in the terminology employed by E. Frhr. von Eickstedt, "Rassenkunde und Rassengeschichte der Menschheit, Stuttgart, 1934, the Eastern Turks show many europid and some turanid racial characteristics, and only a slight degree of mongoloid traits.

142 A more detailed description of the average physical type of Eastern Turkestan is as follows: dark hair and eyes, (sometimes 141 lighter occasionally blue eyes), white or yellowish skin with some- 563 times a slight inclination to brown, middle or tall stature, on the average 1680-1700 mm., with a tendency toward obesity. The head is definitely brachycephalic with a length-width index of 85-87, a longish-oval face, with wide cheek-bones, a straight and rather prominent nose, eyes lacking the mongoloid fold, and everted lips.

2. Economy

433 The main occupations of the Eastern Turks are horticulture, 563 agriculture and animal husbandry. The Eastern Turks breed camels, horses, sheep, and goats. They are famous for their fertile fruit-orchards, which are mostly artificially irrigated. Handicraft is fairly developed, but has no economic significance.

3. Religion

791 The Eastern Turks are Moslems, adherents of the Sun sect. 563 However, they display an attitude towards religion. This does [793] not refer to the leading religious clergy who form a kind of a gentry together with the nobility of the rich landowners.

4. Social organization

178 In contrast to the Kirghiz, Kazakhs, and Uzbeks, the Eastern 563 Turks have lost their clan system and tribal organization completely. There is no antagonism between the Eastern Turks and 186 the remaining Turkic tribes, although the nomadic Turkic tribes 563 exhibit some contempt of the Eastern Turks. However, there is an old and remarkable hatred between the Turks and the Chinese, due partly to the greater efficiency and industriousness of the Chinese.

212 5. Literature

563 a. literacy

The Eastern Turks still use the Arabic script. Until recently
[68] there was at least 95 per cent illiteracy. The Communist regime
apparently has successfully attempted to fight illiteracy.

b. literature and folklore

538 Since Chagatai times the Eastern Turks have been the bearers
178 of an amazing literature and folklore. For over a hundred years,
563 this intellectual life has been declining. Now nothing remains but
primitive samples of that literature which was so famous and influ-
ential upon various Turkic peoples.

• 101 B. The Taranchis

563 The Taranchis are ethnically, linguistically, culturally and
175 genetically the same as the Eastern Turks. Those New-Uighurs
who were defeated by the Chinese at the middle of the 18th century
and fled to the Russian part of the Ili Area, the Russians called
Taranchi, a name that has remained ever since.

C. The Kazakhs

1. Origin and physical characteristics

Prior to the Russian Revolution the Kazakhs were called Kir-
ghiz. Many times they are referred to as Kazakh-Kirghiz, or
Kirghiz-Kazakhs or Kirghiz-Kaisaks. The original homeland of
the Kazakhs was southern Siberia between the Yenisei River and
the Ob River. According to Abulgazi and Rashideddin the Kazakhs
were a very small tribe which expanded after the Mongolian con-
quest and after frequent mergings with Mongolian clans. This
[144] explains why the Kazakhs resemble the Mongols so much. In fact
[142] 80 per cent of the anthropological features of the Kazakhs are
mongoloid, i. e. a strong and square-built trunk with relatively
short legs, wide and round heads; in profile only a slight curva-
ture of the occiput (back part of the head) can be seen; the face is
wide and flat, high cheek-bones, and typical mongolian eyelid, the
nose is flat, hair and eyes are black or brown, the lower jaw is
wide and strongly built.

2. Social organization

a. the khanate

563 The Kazakh hordes first belonged to the Chagatai Empire and
175 later to the Golden Horde. During the sixteenth century they formed
619 their own Kazakh Khanate.

b. the tribes

563 The Kazakhs living in Sinkiang belong mostly to the Orta Dzhuz
619 (middle horde), consisting of the following five main tribes: (1) A-
tagni, (2) Nairman, (3) Argin, (4) Uvak-Girei and (5) Kipchak.

c. the clans

[614] The clan organization among the Kazakhs is very well preserved.

563 Known clan names of the Middle Horde are the following: Chakchat,
619 Chardzhid, Turtul, Karaul, Karakisak, Kandzhagali, Achai, Tarakli,
614 Kulchan-Argin, Kundelen, Usun, Tanabuga, Karabalik-Kipchak.

3. Economy

563 The Kazakhs are still nomads. The rear camels, horses,
233 sheep and goats. In contrast to the Eastern Turks who live in
433 brick and mud houses, they live in felt tents. The Kazakhs are
[342] famous horse and camel breeders. Sheep play the most important
role as sources of wool and meat. Like the Kirghiz and the Mongols,
the Kazakhs have carefully explored, selected and defended summer
pastures and protected valleys for the winter time.

563 The Kazakhs are very proud and independent. They dislike
181 any political supervision and are known to have avoided tax collec-
tors by crossing the borders to Mongolia or Soviet Russia.

4. Literature

563 The Kazakhs have a huge folklore which is being handed down
538 from generation to generation. They still use the Arabic script,
[173] but only a small percentage of noblemen and clergy are literate.
[212]

5. Religion

563 The Kazakhs are Moslems, belonging to the Sunna sect, but
771 they are in no way passionate and ardent believers like, for instance,
the Turks of Persia. Their nomadic life obviously does not permit
strict observance of the Islamic regulations.

D. The Kirghiz

1. History

101 Prior to the Communist Revolution the Kirghiz were called
175 Kara-Kirghiz or Burut. When the Kirghiz were driven out of Mon-
563 golia by the Kara Khitai (shortly before 924 A.D.), some moved
southwest into the areas where they now live.

563 The Kirghiz are subdivided into two wings: Ong-the right one,
619 and Sol-the left one. Like the Kazakhs, the Kirghiz have a very
614 well preserved clan system. They are believed to represent the
oldest Turkish tribe. As far as their physical characteristics are
[144] concerned, what has been said about the Kazakhs is also true for
the Kirghiz; i.e., the Kirghiz also had mixed with Mongol clans
at a very early period.

2. Their regulation

[147] The Kirghiz have a reputation for being extremely resistant
to rigorous climate, hunger and diseases. They are well known
[181] for their wit and sense of humor. Although most are illiterate,
[212] their vivid folklore is handed down in every single tent and many
Kirghiz tribesmen are able to quote thousands of rhymes from
[538] their epic songs.

3. Economy

563 Their weather-beatend faces show that they live in the moun-
361 tains. They breed horses, camels, sheep, goats and yaks. When
233

563 summer comes, they take their cattle way up on the pastures of
361 the mountains. The winter forces them to descend and to spend
233 some months in the more protected valleys.

4. Religion

563 The Kirghiz are Moslems of the Sunna Sect. Their script is
771 Arabic and is known only by noblemen or clergy. The only Moslem
[212] rule which is strictly observed is that of abstaining from eating
[262] pork.

5. Changes under Chinese Communist rule

563 In order to fight illiteracy the new Chinese Communist Govern-
871 ment erected schools for the Turks of Sinkiang in almost all villages,
668 towns and cities. The Chinese claim also that the process of making
177 them sedentary has brought remarkable progress to the Kirghiz.

E. The Uzbeks

1. Physical characteristics

563 Only a few thousand Uzbeks live in Sinkiang, and they live ex-
[369] clusively in the cities. Outwardly they are utterly different from
[42] the Kirghiz and the Kazakhs, since they represent the alpine,
[41] europide and Iranian type of Turk. They show long, narrow faces,
heavy hair growth, brown, sometimes blue, eyes, no Mongolian
fold, sharp prominent noses, white skin, body height 1700 to
1840 mm. Mongoloid features rarely can be found. In most cases
Uzbek are the same physical type as the peasants of the European
Alps.

2. Economic activities

[463] The Uzbeks live as merchants, inn-owners, and craftsmen in
[369] Sinkiang cities. They are more educated than any other Turkish
[871] tribe of Central Asia, since they have absorbed a great deal of
[191] Persian culture. Many Uzbeks speak Persian as a second language,
and Chinese as a third (like the Eastern Turks), while Kirghiz and
Kazakhs know only their mother tongue.

3. Religion

[771] The Uzbeks are Moslems of the Sunna sect. Kirghiz and Kazakhs
call the Uzbeks Sart, which simply means Turks who broke away
from their nomadic way of life and became merchants.

4. Origin and linguistic affiliation

[101] The Uzbeks, living in Sinkiang came from Soviet Uzbekistan.
They received their name from Ozbek, a fourteenth century Khan
of the Golden Horde.

[197] The Uzbek language can be considered as the direct descendant
of the Chagatai written language. Even today the difference between
written Uzbek and the Chagatai language is very small.

F. The Salars

1. Physical characteristics

[131] The Salars live in Hsun-hua-t'ing on the right bank of the

19 6) The Common Turkic spirant *s is preserved as such in all five dialects: e. g. New Uighur, Uzbek: sač "hair", Salar: saš, Kirghiz: čač (< sač on account of assimilation), Tatar: čäč < säč, Kazakh: šaš < saš.

7) The Common Turkic consonant *š (in all positions) becomes s in Kazakh but remains š in Uzbek, Kirghiz, Tatar and Salar, e. g. Chagatai, New Uighur, Kirghiz, Tatar, Uzbek: baš "head", Kazakh: bas, Salar: paš.

8) The Common Turkic consonant *z (*-z-) is represented by z or became devoiced to s; e. g. Uzbek: qiz "girl", Salar: kis, Tatar: kēz.

9) The Common Turkic labial *b- is preserved as such in Uighur, Chagatai, New Uighur, Kirghiz, Kazakh and Tatar, but becomes voiceless p in Salar. In the latter it also can result in b or v due to sandhi; e. g. New Uighur and Chagatai: bār- "to give" Kirghiz and Kazakh: ber-, Tatar: bir-, Salar: ver-, but Uzbek: bir "one" becomes in Salar pir.

10) The Common Turkic labial *p- inconsistently results in -b-, -v-, or -m-, or is preserved as -p-; e. g. Uighur: tobīq "ankle", Tatar: tobuq, Kirghiz: topuq or tomuq.

11) The Common Turkic nasals *m, *n and *ŋ are generally preserved as such. The same is true for the Common Turkic liquids *r and *l.

3. Vocalism

As far as vocalism is concerned, only Tatar differs greatly from all the other Turkic languages spoken in Sinkiang.

1) The Common Turkic *u becomes o in Tatar; e. g. Uighur: bulut "cloud", Tatar: bolet (o is a vowel between o and u).

2) The Common Turkic *a results in ä in Tatar; e. g. Common Turkic: čač- "to strew", Tatar: čäč-.

3) The Common Turkic *i resulted in a reduced vowel ê : e. g. kiz "girl", Tatar: qêz.

4) The Common Turkic *o resulted in u in Tatar; e. g. Uighur: bol- "to be", Tatar: bul-.

5) The Common Turkic vowels *ä and *e resulted in i in Tatar; e. g. Uighur: kel- "to come", Tatar: kil-.

6) The Common Turkic vowel *ö resulted in ü in Tatar; e. g. Uzbek: kōl "lake", Tatar: kül.

7) The Common Turkic *ü resulted in e in Tatar; e. g. Uighur: kün "day", Tatar: ken.

These phonetic changes make it difficult for the Uzbeks, New Uighurs, Kirghiz and Kazakhs to converse with the Tatars.

II. The Mongolian Dialects

A. The Western Mongolian or Kalmuck

In linguistic usage the term Kalmuck applies to West Mongolian or Oirat.

563 or Oirat. The Kalmucks proper are, or rather were, only a
 • [101] group of the Oirats (Western Mongols). As a people they have
 [619] ceased to exist. The Western Mongols are divided into the
 175 Torgut, Khoshut, Ölot and Dörbet (also called Dzungar) tribes.
 563 As the pressure of the Chinese government became too strong
 in the early 17th century some Khoshuts migrated into the Kokonor
 area. The Torguts moved into the steppes (1618) between the
 Urals and the Volga and submitted to the Russians. In 1673 the
 Dörbets, and in 1675 the Khoshuts, who had not migrated to the
 Kokonor area, followed their lead. However by 1771 Russian
 domination had become so oppressive that the Oirats decided on
 a return migration. Only a small part of the 400,000 people and
 their animals that wandered back arrived in their new home,
 which was now called Dzungaria (Mongolian: zōn gar "right
 wing"). One group settled in the eastern part of Tien-shan,
 [131] another small group at the southern edges of the Gobi, at the
 Kokonor and another in the Chinese province, Kansu.

19 Linguistically speaking, the following changes have occurred:
 1) The Kalmuck language has contracted the groups *aɣu, *egü,
 etc. to long vowels:

Common Mongolian	Mongolian	Kalmuck
*caɣayan "white"	čayan	tsayān
*qaɣaɣar "bridle"	qaɣaɣar	ɣazār
*qaɣalya "gate"	qaɣalya	χalyo
*čigiray < *tiɣiray "massive"	čigiray	tširoG "solid"
*daɣuda- "to call"	daɣuda-	dūn "voice"
*toɣari- "to turn"	toɣori-	tör- "to go around"

2) I-breaking has occurred:

Mongolian	Kalmuck
birayɣu "calf"	bürü
miqan "meat"	mayn
sira "yellow"	šar
milaya "lash"	mafa

3) I-breaking did not occur in some instances; rather *i has
 assimilated the vowel in the following syllable:

Mongolian: jida "spear"	Kalmuck: džido < *jide
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4) The Common Mongolian affricatives *č and *ʃ became in
 Kalmuck *ts and *z respectively. Only before *i did they remain
 as *tš and *dž:

Mongolian	Kalmuck
čayan "white"	tsayān
časun "snow"	tsasn
čisun "blood"	tsusn
jekegün "cold"	zekūn
jelkei "thief"	zelkē

N
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*563 Han Chinese have taken up farming. Many of them have also become small business men dealing in camels, sheep, oxen, furs, skins, et cetera. Often those who have settled in cities are restaurant owners. The Moslems are faithful followers of their religion. Although they have taken on the Chinese way of life, the people have always kept their own identity.

S
101
489 In early times Sinkiang was referred to as Hsi-yü (the Western Region) or as T'ien-shan nan-lu and T'ien-shan pei-lu (Road South of the Heavenly Mountains and Road North of the Heavenly Mountains). These names referred to the natural caravan highways which progress westward from Chinese Kansu on either side of the Heavenly Mountains, weaving along and through the watered and cultivated areas.

S
563 The region has the most colorful mixture of race, custom and habit in existence. There are the dark-bearded Uighurs from Kashgar, in long, bright-colored coats, with their veiled and white-clothed women; there are booted Kirgiz from Taghdumbash Pamir; there are the outcast unveiled women from Maralbashi and foreigners from Afghanistan, India, Tibet and Russian Turkestan.

S
178
563 Here the passage of time seems to bring little change. Mixed as they are, the tribesmen of the steppes cling to their time-honored ways, each race maintaining its own traditions. Religion runs the gamut from Mohammedanism and Lamaist Buddhism to Christianity. It is a land of mosques and lamaseries, of centuries-old irrigation ditches, of "Turban Heads" and Chinese Moslems. It is an open land of lean Kalmuch nomads and hard Kirgiz frontiersmen, of Kazakh cowboys galloping across the steppe.

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*563 Of all these peoples in the Northwest, we have selected for our study seven groups, namely: the Han Chinese, the Chinese Moslems, the Kirghizs, the Kazakhs, the new Uighurs or Eastern Turks, the Mongours, the Tibetans and the Western Mongols. The Mongols of Alashan and Edsingol are now part of the Inner Mongolian Autonomous Region. Their value system and life patterns do not differ appreciably from those of the Mongols in Inner Mongolia. Reference is therefore made to the same section in the IMAR Handbook.

III. Social Values and Patterns of Living of the Peoples in the Northwest

A. The Han Chinese

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*175
[463] The Han Chinese of the Northwest region are predominantly farmers, artisans and merchants. During China's era of Imperial government, and during the Nationalist period as well, the region and its borders have often been involved in war with the

/The Han Chinese/

000 with the fur side inside.
* 563 The Chinese home is still governed by the patriarchal tradi-
769 tion. The ancestral tablets stand in the place of honor. Ancestor
592 worship, which includes the belief that the spirits of those who
have gone before are always present, profoundly affects the de-
tails of family life and holds the members together, not so much
by affection as by obligation and a sense of mutual responsibility
within the clan.

N
* 563 At the New Year, in the shabby mud hut as well as in the
592 elaborate living room of a wealthy home, the family makes obei-
796 sance to the elders in exacting ritual. The essential relation-
184 ships which govern social intercourse are rigidly practiced. The
[593] individual maintains a close tie with his family, for he finds in
it the satisfaction of fulfilling the demands of tradition. A male
Chinese considers his home a place which Heaven has entrusted
to him, to hand down to posterity.

N
* 563 The annual festivals, such as the seasonal celebrations of the
796 New Year, the Dragon Festival, the Moon Festival, et cetera,
184 are celebrated in more or less the same manner as by the peo-
N ple of other regions. Customs regarding birth, marriage, funer-
als and burial are also similar; in some places the ritual is
* 563 more rigid and conservative. The distinguishing factor here is
829 in the simple home life, as well as in social relations. The atti-
N titude toward life is more practical because of poverty and neces-
[558] sary thrift. The preservation of "face" is not regarded as so
essential to prestige and social status. For example, Chinese
people in other parts of the country may have elaborate funerals
for their parents to maintain the prestige of the family, despite
resulting financial worries.

S
N B. The Chinese Moslems (Dungans)

563 1. The People
101

● Actually the Moslems are predominantly Chinese. In Asia the
Chinese Moslems are referred to as Dungans, but in Kansu
Province they are called Hui-hui. Dungan is not a Chinese word,
but a term used by the Turks of Sinkiang in referring to the Chi-
nese Moslems.

S
[161] These people settled thickly in Sinkiang Province, where they
[197] form the bulk of both the trading communities and the farmers.
In addition to Chinese they speak a Turkish dialect, and they
distinguish themselves from the Moslems of North China who,
except for their religion, have been almost totally assimilated
by the Chinese.

S
N The Chinese Moslems are a much more courageous people
563 than the local Han Chinese. The Kansu men of this area are con-
181 sidered the most timid of the sturdy North China stock. It is
said that the Kansu men never have ambition, while the other
Northerners are never without it.

/Turkic Peoples of Sinkiang/

(p. 211):

563 "Brother Mulla Tokhta, head man of our village
533 Swagged into market as if he were the mayor.
539 He hired himself a donkey
And bought a rope for a half penny
And a piece of tripe for a farthing
And hung the tripe from the donkey's neck.
The donkey promptly bolted
And kicked the byjar in the stomach.
Mulla Tokhta walked home with the tripe,
Took his knife without a handle and cut it up,
Took his spoon without a handle and stirred it,
Said, 'Let's have a feed,' and was just sitting down
When in burst six policemen,
Ate up all the tripe and went away."

563 The Russians have done considerable study in Taranchi litera-
538 ture and oral tradition because of their access to the area. In
addition to the Eastern Turki tradition, the Taranchi texts in-
clude the oral art which sprang up in the area since the settling
of the Taranchis in the Ili Valley. The most common themes
are concerned with the oppression of the Taranchis in the Ili
Valley and complaints against the Chinese.

• [101] The nomadic tradition is kept in Eastern Turkestan by the
Kirghiz and Kazakhs, the majority of whom are still nomads.
They belong culturally to the Kirghiz and Kazakhs in Western
Turkestan, and have no distinguishing features.

563 Music, folklore and epic poetry constitute the bulk of the
533 Kazakh and Kirghiz cultural heritage. Because of the way of life
538 and strong clan ties, their folk art is primarily social in char-
acter, concerned with problems common to clans and tribes
and not so much with the fate of the individual.

Story and music accompany every phase of their life, and all
the important occasions in life are expressed in special songs.

[539] A Kazakh writer, Abai Kubanco, wrote the following about the
importance of the song in the life of the nomadic Turk:

"The song will open the door of the world for you
The song will open the door of death for you
Listen to it, Kazakh, and follow its wisdom
The song travels with you all your life." (from K. Menges'
article in Pivot of Asia.)

563 Tales and legends also play an important part in the life of
538 the Kirghiz and the Kazakhs. There are many tales of mystery,
magic, animal tales and tales about battles and struggles for
good pasture land.

The heroic epos is still alive among these nomadic people,
and it usually tells of historical events concerning the glory of

/Turkic Moslems of Sinkiang/

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(794) them. Nowadays these are more cases of private feuds than law suits. Even when a Qazi exercises his judicial powers, he has no authority to enforce the verdict. The position of the reis is purely symbolic, and that of the Mutaki merely one of consultative powers.

F. The Chinese Moslems

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563 The Chinese Moslems are a different sect of Islam than the Turkic Moslems in Sinkiang. They constitute a religious and, to an extent, a racial minority in China proper. The same is not true of the Turkic Moslems, who form a major section of the population in Sinkiang, and who in reality are not a national and religious minority. However, in Northwest China, the number of Chinese Moslems is much greater than in other parts of China, with the possible exceptions of Yunnan and Peking. Many differences between the Chinese Moslems and the Turkic Moslems stem from this factor alone. The Chinese Moslems are much influenced by an environment which is foreign to Islam. They have accepted many of the local customs and have integrated them into their own rites. This process has been both voluntary and forced. The Chinese Moslems, through the process of intermarriage and living within a majority of non-Moslems, have absorbed some of their customs, perhaps without realizing it. To avoid persecution and suspicion from the rest of the people, they have been forced to adopt others.

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(361) Another important factor in the shaping of Islam in China is the virtual isolation of the Chinese Moslem communities from other centers of Islam, an isolation which has existed for many centuries. Islam in China has been deprived of many of the contributions made later to the religious doctrine and practice by various philosophic and juristic scholars in Western Asia. Islam in China, consequently, developed its own peculiar characteristics (mainly in ritual). The Chinese Moslems have not contributed anything of major importance to the fields of Islam's philosophy and theological thought.

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101 The Chinese Moslems are commonly called Dungans. They themselves do not use the name, but term themselves Hui-hui or Hui tzu. This appellation is applied by the Chinese to all Moslems, whether residents of China proper or Turkestan. Islam is commonly designated Hui-Hui Chiao (the religion of the Hui Hui). It is also known as Ch'ing-chen Chiao (The Pure and True Religion), or the Hsiao-chiao (minor religion) as contrasted with Confucianism, the "Great Religion." The Communists refer to them as Hui. The meaning and origin of the name Hui-hui are not known. There are many varying opinions on the subject. Some say Hui-hui is a corruption of the name Uighur; others, that it is equivalent to the Arabic term Islam, the character Hui signifying "to return".